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ABSTRACT

This article attempts to present an exhaustive, fully-documented discussion of recent and current work around the world on questions related to French/Dutch multilingual contact in Brussels. An attempt has been made to go beyond mere bibliographical listing to an evaluation of everything of importance written around this topic, primarily in the twentieth century but with particular emphasis on work accomplished since 1945. This review is divided into the following areas: censuses and statistics, linguistic make-up of Brussels, origin of the contact situation, linguistic aspects of the contact situation, lexical items, and the literary language. It is concluded that there is a lack of balance in the amount of scientific investigation conducted on the languages present; in particular, the amount of published work on the Flemish of the area is small. Gaps were also found in the areas of inquiry opened up by modern linguistics. Sixty-three works are cited in the bibliography. (Author/KM)

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MULTILINGUAL CONTACTS IN BRUSSELS.

Summary.

This article attempts to present an exhaustive, fully-documented discussion of recent and current work around the world on questions related to French/Dutch multilingual contact in Brussels. An attempt has been made to go beyond mere bibliographical listing to an evaluation of everything of importance written around this topic, primarily in the twentieth century but with particular emphasis on work accomplished since 1945. Only the literary exploitation of the two contact languages has been dealt with rather summarily as it is hoped to handle this aspect in a further paper elsewhere.

Résumé.

Cet article tente de présenter une analyse exhaustive et documentée des recherches récentes et en cours entreprises dans le monde entier sur les questions ayant rapport avec le contact plurilingue français/néerlandais à Bruxelles. On s'est efforcé de ne pas limiter cet examen à une seule analyse bibliographique mais de donner une description complète de tout travail important effectué dans ce domaine depuis le début du siècle, en insistant sur les développements intervenus depuis la deuxième guerre mondiale. Seul le domaine de l'exploitation littéraire des deux langues en contact a été traité de façon superficielle; cet aspect de la question fera l'objet d'un exposé qui paraîtra ultérieurement.

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Introduction

Any valid study of the contact situation in Brussels should aim, in so far as this is possible, to reveal the influences of the one language upon the other as being a two way process. Divergency will inevitably appear as to the relative extents of the results of contact between two linguistic communities, just as the emphasis given to specific influences will be determined by the standpoint or source of enquiry in each particular domain of relevant interest.

Given the framework in which this section on multilingual contact in Brussels is being presented , the starting point for discussion will be the French language. This will inevitably colour what is to follow, limiting enquiry to that which can clearly be considered as having direct bearing on the role and influence of that language on the socio-cultural setting under investigation. But this does not imply that only the French language, or the French-speaking community will be discussed; on the contrary, the influence of French on the other contact language, Dutch, and its relationship to the Dutch-speaking community will also be dealt with, but to a much lesser extent.

This weighting in favour of the French-speaking community is not solely determined by the scope of this enquiry, however, but also by the widely disproportionate amount of scientific investigation that has been undertaken with regard to the two languages present in Brussels. Some of the reasons for this unbalanced picture will appear more clearly from reading the different sub-sections that follow, but there are more general considerations which help to explain this situation.

The first is a historical one, tied to the political implications of language usage in Belgium as a whole. Bound up with this is the more prestigious nature of the French language in the eyes of many for so long, making it a more widespread, a more pertinent and a more useful field of investigation than its opposite number.

Connected with this historical argument is that of numbers. The fact that French was for so long the vehicle of most higher instruction and most intellectual activity in Belgium has meant that

until this century there have not been so many qualified specialists available (with the necessary inside information) to study the effects of language contact in Belgium from the standpoint of the Dutch-speaking community.

The third major reason behind this lack of balance is also tied to historical and numerical factors and stems from the greater amount of research carried out over a long period of time on the French language in general, thereby providing more stimulus for the study of French in Belgium, enabling cross-comparison with the situation of French elsewhere, and providing information of a wide interest value. This is an external feature independent of any specific Belgian context, somewhat akin to the "most favoured nation" concept of the economist, where the language of greater historical and international influence attracts more attention than a language of less international significance, like Dutch.

There is one further important reason behind the imbalance in studies investigating the contact situation in Brussels, not totally divorced from the last point mentioned, and that is the claim made frequently by Belgian linguists that a study of the penetration of French into Flemish (Note 1) in Brussels is of such great complexity that they baulk at the immensity of the task. However, this would appear to be more of a non-linguist's way of arguing, tied up with the emotional and politically determined socio-linguistic characteristics of the language situation in Belgium, rather than a reflection of fact.

Of course it cannot be denied that an enormous number of publications have appeared over the past 100 years dealing with the contact situation in Brussels as seen from the standpoint of one or other of the linguistic groups present. But here extreme caution must be taken in sifting through materials, since many publications have been written by those who are directly involved in some of the tensions arising out of the contact situation and who are, by their very nature, unlikely to be able to remain impartial in their observations. Even many 'scientific' publications

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fall into this category. This is a possible explanation for the reluctance felt by some to undertake a particular piece of research as mentioned earlier.

The situation has been succinctly stated in VERDOODT (1973, Préface) "Que de contrastes en ce domaine : contraste entre l'importance vécue du problème et la valeur des écrits, entre le nombre des écrits et la qualité....".

For indeed, one of the striking features about the linguistic scene in Belgium as a whole, and not just Brussels, is the rich potentiality of the terrain as a source of linguistic enquiry, contrasted with the relative lack of interest from those engaged in the different branches of this area of enquiry. This is not to deny the very valuable and plentiful work done, particularly on Flemish and Walloon dialectology, but rather indicates astonishment at the fact that so much other fertile ground has been left unturned.

It is hoped that the reader will bear this fact in mind as he reads through the sections that follow and wonders why so many areas of interest have not been further investigated, and at the same time why a relatively limited number of authors constantly reappear among the few reliable sources of information.

Mention has already been made of the complexity of the linguistic make-up of Brussels , so that an attempt to unravel fact from fiction, to classify the linguistic forces present and their relative importance, is a delicate but necessary starting point for whoever wishes to examine Brussels as a linguistic entity. Only the indigenous (Belgian) language varieties will be considered since it is not felt that the foreign element, numerically important though it may be, has any deep significance for the specific linguistic make-up of Brussels.

Censuses and Statistics.

It is with great caution that one should examine any works purporting to describe the nature of the languages present, and this for many reasons. The first is the difficulty of obtaining any reliable statistical information, since there has been no question concerning

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language in the decennial censuses since 1947. The language questions were eliminated under political pressure because of claims of irregularities in the collection of census forms, of pressure on people to return forms in a particular language and the assumption that the census question took on the aspect of what language-group inhabitants wished to belong to rather than what languages they knew (MENS EN RUIMTE : 1973 : 54). Although consultation of census figures is not to be completely discarded (cf. below, Origin of the Contact Situation), it must be done with prudence. (For a summary of the nature of the different linguistic censuses over a 100-year period, see MENS EN RUIMTE : 1973 : 46-53). Since the abolition of the language questions on census forms both major linguistic groups in contact have tried to use 'objective' criteria for discerning the relative strengths of their position. LINDEMANS ,Proeve van een objectieve talentelling in het Brusselse (1951), pointed out the defects of the linguistic census from the Flemings' point of view, this group being the most vociferous in its rejection of the census findings, and produced figures giving a much higher proportion of Flemish speakers than the official census (Note 2). On the French side statistics regularly appear in the press in order to indicate French speakers' numerical strength in Brussels based on the number of identity cards, marriages, recruits for military service, etc... that are registered in either language. However, the unsatisfactory nature of such information is only too evident, the language of official documents in no way necessarily corresponding to a person's ability or inability to speak one or the other language. Nor do figures based on such calculations indicate the number of bilinguals. A report published by the Institut de Sociologie de l'Université Libre de Bruxelles by VANDERLYCKEN, resulting from a questionnaire : Le problème linguistique et politique published in 1969, gave the Flemish speakers as 27.1 % and French speakers as 69.9 % (3.3 % neither Fl. or Fr.). Both groups of persons questioned estimated the Flemish presence as being greater then the enquiry proved.

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leaving one to imagine that the Flemish group must be significantly dynamic to give this overestimation (Note 3). This is not the place to go into a detailed analysis of the accuracy of these figures, nor into the very strong criticism put forward in the Flemish press as to the acceptability of the findings. Suffice it to say that they do give a fairly recent picture of the relative strengths of the 2 major groups, as well as information concerning the socio-economic background and politico-linguistic attitudes.

A second source of information on the divergent linguistic forces present in Brussels is in the writings by linguists and others describing the Belgian capital. But here too, great care must be taken not to accept classifications at face value, since often they are at best imprecise and at worst completely inaccurate. This is in part due to their authors belonging to one or the other linguistic community in Belgium and thereby describing features as seen from the standpoint of his community, or else to authors basing their description on commonly-held beliefs not always verified on the spot. It is in this field that one most notices the influence of folk-linguistics as described by HOENIGSWALD (A proposal for the Study of Folk-Linguistics : 1966) leading authors (and even reputable linguists) to accept as fact commonly-held beliefs about the linguistic make-up of Brussels. This can cause not only terminological confusion, but classificatory errors in the area concerned. For example, questions as to the classification of certain features are only valid if the criteria for categorization are sound. It is to be forgiven, if confusing, when folklorists talk of 'dialecte bruxellois','patois bruxellois' or simply 'bruxellois' when classifying pecularities that have struck them, though it makes consultation of amateur dictionaries like QUIEVREUX's Dictionnaire du dialecte bruxellois almost impossible for anyone without previous knowledge of the area . It is to be regretted that linguists, like POHL, (1953) talk of 'marollien' (cf. below) without clearly circumscribing what they understand by this classification,

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thereby leading to misrepresentation in articles like Quand les ketjes tiennent le fou au quartier des Marolles (1953). POHL is careful enough to present his findings under a geographic label, a wise precaution that proves his awareness of the complexity of the situation but he unfortunately fails to indicate that the features he describes are not specific only to the area he mentions. Of even greater consequence, however, is when such imprecise terms as 'patois bruxellois' or 'Brussels dialekt' are used in questionnaires such as that used in the opinion poll under the direction of VANDEREYCKEN (1969). For how is a bilingual to know what is supposed to be covered by 'patois bruxellois' ? - is it the lower-level French often mistakenly considered as 'Marollien', is it the Flemish dialect used in Brussels, or is it the mixed language that many inhabitants of Brussels imagine exists as typical of certain classes and certain areas ?

Unless the categories are more clearly defined in questionnaires the questionnaire is invalid, doubly so when one realises that such a large proportion of the indigenous population believes in categories that barely exist. This is why it is of importance to conduct some research into language attitude in Brussels, trying to clarify what types of languages the local population believes are present.

To some extent, the types of language present have been classified, though without revealing to what extent the general public is aware of this reality, in the unpublished thesis by VEKEMANS (1963), taken up by BAETENS BEARDSMORE (1971a)

What is revealed is a complex situation that neatly fits into the schema of possibilities theoretically expounded by FISHMAN in Bilingualism with and without diglossia : diglossia with and without bilingualism.

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Category of Speaker	Diglossia	Bilingualism
1. Indigenous Educated French Monoglot	-	-
2. Indigenous Lower-Level French Monoglot	(+)	-
3. Indigenous Bilingual	+	+
4. Indigenous Flemish Monoglot	-	-
5. Flemish Immigrant	+	+
6. Walloon Immigrant	(+)	-

Table 1.

The schematic representation in Table 1 gives a broad outline of the socio-linguistic make-up of Brussels which requires some comment. In a country such as Belgium the type of bilingualism one is likely to encounter is not a straightforward matter, even if one leaves aside the theoretical problem of trying to define bilingualism (cf.BEZIERS & VAN OVERBEKE, Le Bilinguisme. Essai de Définition et Guide Bibliographique : 1968). POHL's Bilinguismes (1965) lists no less than 39 possible categories, mostly applicable to Brussels, including such notions as "bilinguisme horizontal, bilinguisme vertical, bilinguisme diagonal, bilinguisme symétrique, bilinguisme asymétrique, bilinguisme étanche, bilinguisme tourniquet, etc". However, FISHMAN's classification is broad enough to cover all possibilities while at the same time precise enough to distinguish the major features.

It can be seen from Table 1 that the indigenous monoglots, be they educated French speakers (1) or lower-level Flemish

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speakers (4) (the educated Flemish monoglot is a rare occurrence in Brussels) both share the features of no diglossia and no bilingualism. However, the French monoglots will use a H(igh) prestige language, while the Flemish monoglots, a diminishing and ageing sub-group, will use a L(ow) language in most of their activities (cf. FERGUSON : 1959).

Category (2), the indigenous lower-level French monoglot, may be diglossic (hence the (+)) if he uses a form of regional French marked by interference features in the more intimate aspects of his daily pursuits, reserving the H form of French for official aspects; on the other hand he may have only the regional form of French at his disposal for all aspects of his activities, except those pertaining to auditory and written comprehension of standard French. His nearest counterpart is the Walloon immigrant (6), who may or may not be a Walloon dialect-speaker in L situations, or else may or may not use a regional form of French of a Walloon variety distinct from Brussels regional French.

Finally we have the Indigenous bilingual (3) whose characteristics are similar to those of the Flemish immigrant (5). Both may use a Flemish dialect or standard southern Dutch in L circumstances, the former will use French in H circumstances, the latter may use Dutch and/or French.

Linguistic Make-up of Brussels.

So far we have examined language use in Brussels, but in order to have some real understanding of the city one needs to look into the nature of the languages present and to relate them to the categories of speaker already mentioned. The following section describes these languages although they are not listed in any order of numerical importance.

The cultivated French of monoglot intellectuals or educated bilinguals has few traces of regional specificity to distinguish it from that of any other region of France, except those features that form part of the cultivated norm or 'bon usage' of the area - not divergencies from 'normative French' that some would

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prefer to call 'français neutralisé' (WARNANT : 1973: 102-113). This particular form is the easiest to distinguish by the very reduced nature of its specificity, and can best be discovered by consulting the monumental thesis by J. POHL Témoignages sur le lexique des parlers français de Belgique (unpublished doctoral thesis U.L.B. : 1950: 16 vol.) or in the more condensed published work, Témoignages sur la syntaxe du verbe dans quelques parlers français de Belgique (1962).

Although these two works are not restricted to the Brussels area of Belgium alone, nor to the type of French here under discussion, a large portion is devoted to the French of educated inhabitants of Brussels (no diglossia - no bilingualism except for educated bilinguals).

The more marked regional French of monoglots whose occupation or social activities lead them to contacts with bilinguals shows a bilingually marked variety of French, where 'standards' are fixed by criteria determining the speech of the largest number of speakers in the area. This category of speaker may well be the most important at the moment, being made up of a large percentage of first and second generation monoglot French speakers. No detailed study has been made of the language of this large mass of speakers as a group, though frequent reference is made to its features in both works of POHL already mentioned, and in BAETENS BEARDSMORE (1971 a).

The nature of this French may well, at the extreme lower end, differ very little from that of the majority of bilinguals, where the influence of Flemish interference features is clear. The significance of this Flemish element in the French of bilinguals can be accounted for by the fact that the vast majority of bilingual speakers are from some non-French speaking milieu of origin. It is a widely accepted fact that very few originally French-speaking monoglots become bilingual or acquire very much more than a superficial passive knowledge of the second language.)

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It is the speech of the bilingual speakers that attracts the greatest attention, since theirs are the languages most markedly affected by interference features and theirs are the languages most characteristic of Brussels. The way each language is affected is not the same however, nor is the extent to which each language is affected the same for all types of bilingual included under this classification. Some speakers will have one dominant language, others, the other; some will manage to keep one of the two relatively free from interference features, others less so. The nature of their particular form of French and Flemish will depend on many factors, including age group, social and educational level, work or residential situation, family connections and so on.

For example, the educated Flemish bilingual with a university degree might speak excellent French tainted only sporadically with interference phenomena that might well be attributable to the nature of the regional French used all around him rather than to direct interference from his own knowledge of Dutch or a Flemish dialect, although originally of course, many of the regional French traits can be traced back to interference. His Dutch too will differ from that used in the Netherlands because of the French influence in all southern Dutch, but may not necessarily do so because of direct contact with French.

On the other hand, the likelihood that interference is not due to direct contact is much smaller if we move down the social scale to the middle and working-class bilingual. Here there is a very marked divergence from the standard French of France or the standard Dutch of Holland, where the characteristics are specifically 'bruxellois' in the local variants of both languages. The astonishing facility with which bilinguals from this category operate 'code switching' in certain poorer areas of the city has induced some writers to believe that a new hybrid language has been formed that is neither French or Flemish (Franflamand : 1965). But upon closer examination it is clear that the two languages spoken by this category of bilingual do not differ

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substantially in kind from what is to be noted elsewhere, though rapid code-switching and greater frequency of interference phenomena have led to the uninformed myth of the hybrid language (cf. VEKEMANS : 1963; BAETENS BEARDSMORE : 1971 a : 53).

The local variety of Dutch is used by the unilingual Flemish speakers, a group made up mainly of older people born in the more humble areas of the city or else of newly-arrived city-dwellers from the Flemish region of the country. This group is not significantly large and many of the younger monoglots soon acquire French due to the pressures they undergo from the numerically dominant group. Most of the older generation monoglot Flemish speakers will use the local variety of Brabant Flemish, strongly marked by French features, particularly lexicologic, whilst the younger immigrants might speak any of a variety of Flemish dialects or standard southern Dutch.

The French of the Walloon immigrants from different parts of southern Belgium is relatively unimportant for the linguistic specificity of Brussels. Many speakers are either in possession of a neutralised form of standard Belgian French, or else are speakers of one of the Walloon, Rouchi or Gaumais dialects, with a regional French superimposed. They are generally assimilated into the French-speaking community without any problem and apart from in a few cultural organisations, do not often manifest themselves as a distinct group.

Apart from the above-mentioned linguistic categories, any description of the Belgian capital must make some mention of the languages and speech groups that go to form part of the 'folk-linguistics' of the innabitants.

Quite often one can come across references to 'marollien', which is believed by many to be a special mixture of popular French and popular Flemish, and spoken by the inhabitants of a small area of the centre of the capital. POHL, in Quand les Ketjes tiennent le fou au quartier des Marolles explains the diversity of opinion that exists as to the nature of the speech of this area, and himself falls into the trap of saying:

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"Et pourtant, le marollien, chose exceptionnelle,
sinon unique, est une langue double. Il n'est pas
à vrai dire, entre le germanique et le roman,
il est à la fois l'un et l'autre."

And yet it is difficult to distinguish anything about the language of this area, except the odd lexical item, which is different from the language of a bilingual speaker of similar social background and similar bilingual contacts elsewhere in the city. Quantitatively one might come across some features more regularly, but the nature of the language spoken by the inhabitants of the Marolles does not show any significant qualitative difference.

A second source of confusion lies in the frequent references to 'bargoens' or 'bargoensch' found in some writers on Brussels. There is a certain mythology not only as to the existence of 'bargoensch' but also surrounding its significance. Like 'marollien',' bargoensch' is believed by many to have left traces in the speech of the inhabitants of the Marolles, and yet there is very little evidence to justify this claim today. Originally 'bargoensch' was a kind of thieves' slang as used in The Netherlands and Dutch-speaking Belgium, basically Dutch in its morpho-syntactic structure, but containing elements of Hebrew, German, Spanish and Latin (cf. QUIEVREUX, Bruxelles, Notre Capitale : 1958 : 212-213; TEIRLINCK; Woordenboek van Bargoensch : 1866).

The etymology of this word is not clear (DE VRIES, Nederlands Etymologisch Woordenboek : 1963) but the historical associations of Brussels with the Dukes of Burgundy has led some to think that it indicates Burgundian influences. POHL has a curious article in Vie et Langage : 10 : 1953, 526-528 entitled Un argot bruxellois à la sauce "bourguignonne" which refers to 'bargoens' as being at the origin of many of his terms, but the title is very confusing when one realises how little connection there is between Burgundy and 'bargoens'. Similarly, MAZEREEL, Klank en Vormleer van het Brusselsch Dialect : 1931 : 13)

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gives an example of 'bargoensch' which, on analysis, would appear to be nothing more than lower-level regional French with strong Flemish lexical interference.

Traces of 'bargoensch' can be found in Brussels French, particularly in schoolboy slang; words like tof, 'chic, beau, épatant'; maf, 'fou, cinglé', probably have some connection with 'bargoensch', but in fact belong more to the local Flemish dialect from which they have been borrowed into French.

A third myth to perpetuate itself widely in Brussels is that the period of Spanish occupation in Belgium's history has left deep traces on the language of the capital. Fortunately this popular myth has not been taken up by the linguists without careful investigation, and only two items regularly encountered in Brussels French are generally accepted as of proven Spanish origin,'amigo' prison (cf. DEROY, L'emprunt linguistique, 1958 : 197) and 'faire schampavie' s'esquiver (GRAULS, De etymologie van schampavie, 1929).

Origin of the Contact situation.

Perhaps at this stage some historical explanation is called for as to how the language contact situation arose. This is one field where few polemics seem to exist.

Although there is no certain explanation of the origin of the language frontier that runs across Belgium in a line from East to West (STENGERS, Les origines de la frontière linguistique en Belgique, ou de la légitimité de l'hypothèse historique : 1959) its position and its relationship to Brussels is fairly clear. One of the early important works on this question, KURTH'S La frontière linguistique en Belgique et dans le Nord de la France, (1895-1897) tried to show how the language border followed the lines of the 'forêt charbonnière', or else that it was parallel to the line of Roman fortifications along an axis Boulogne - Bavai - Cologne. This theory has been called into question in its details by DRAYE (1954), and it is now clear that the forest that was

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originally supposed to separate the two language communities in fact ran along a north-south axis and did not correspond to the present border. Neither did the line of Roman fortifications offer any clear explanation since they clearly ran north of what is today the language boundary and there is no reason to suspect a substantial shift southwards to the present position. DRAYE explains the frontier as a reflection of population density, the northern region containing large masses of Germanic speakers, the southern containing far less Germanic speakers who were absorbed into the Romance-speaking indigenous population of greater numerical density. A recent reflection of the nature of this linguistic border has been published by MENS EN RUIMTE, Taalgrensonderzoek in België (1973), where a detailed sociological and linguistic study has been made of two contiguous villages on either side of the border.

For Brussels itself, which lies 15 Km. north of the language border, forming an island surrounded by officially Flemish-speaking territory (though in fact containing suburbs with large groups of French-speaking inhabitants originally from the capital), there is clear documentary evidence of French from the 13th century onwards (DES CRESSONNIERES, Essai sur la question des langues dans l'histoire de Belgique : 1919 ; GRAULS : 1939; COOSEMANS : 1952 : 1952; DENECKERE : 1954). French appears to have slowly expanded by filtering down from the court, the upper classes and through the middle classes until it became widespread amongst large sections of the working-class population in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The role of French in Brussels in the sixteenth century among more modest sections of the population, limited though it was, has been commented on by VAN DEN BRUWAENE, Depuis quand parle-t-on le français à Bruxelles, (1972), while an eighteenth century tract by VERLOOY, a lawyer, shows what inroads French had made in the capital by the 1780's, where he estimates that one fifth of the population spoke French. However, the greatest progress was made after

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the foundation of the independent kingdom of Belgium in 1830, when a very rapid decline in the number of Flemish speakers can be noted (AELVOET, Honderdvijfentwintigjaar verfransing in de agglomeratie en het arrondissement Brussel 1830 - 1955 : 1957). A noticeable fact from this study is that not a single commune in Brussels had a majority of French speakers in 1830, while by 1947 not a single commune was without a French-speaking majority, (KRUITHOF, De samenstelling van de Brusselse bevolking in 1842 : 1956).

From all the studies devoted to the progression of French in Brussels throughout the ages it is quite clear that, apart from during the period of French occupation, 1792-1814, the language gained ground without overt pressure or coercion but by a process of socio-economic pressure in which the most powerful social group becomes the linguistic reference group for all the others, (VAN HAEGENDOREN, Belgium and its double language boundary : 1970). For a history of the progress of French seen from a Flemish extremist viewpoint, see HEMMERECHTS, Het Triëst van het Noorden : 1964). In this respect the role of French has been no different in Brussels than it has in any of the other large Flemish cities like Antwerp or Ghent, but the extent to which French spread among the whole population was much greater and more permanent, in a capital dominated in the past by a French speaking elite, than in the provincial Flemish cities. Moreover, recent language laws (1963) have caused the influence of French to decline in the Flemish cities, where they have had little effect on the administratively bilingual capital with a de facto French predominance. But the extent of the Flemish element in Brussels must not be underestimated if one wishes to obtain a real understanding of the nature of Brussels French. Similarly, the historical progression of French in the capital must be taken into account when examining the nature of Brussels Flemish.

The long history of a predominantly Flemish-speaking

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capital, the fact that until recently the French-speaker has mainly been the final stage of a process of language shift from a Flemish monoglot stage, through a bilingual one, to that of a French monoglot, and the continued presence of Flemish speakers in Brussels (whose ranks are daily swelled by commuters) means that the two languages show clear and permanent features that result from contact.

Linguistic aspects of the contact situation.

The visitor to Brussels will immediately be struck by the difference in quality in the pronunciation of most French-speakers he comes across, if compared with a Frenchman speaking standard French. However, it would be unwise to make too-sweeping generalisations in this respect since there are many educated French monoglot speakers who would be very difficult to distinguish in their pronunciation from a similar category of speaker south of the Belgian border.

Nevertheless there are certain overall features which might typify the educated French-speaker in Belgium in general. These phonological and phonetic features (along with many others), could be classified under what WARNANT, for want of a better term, calls 'français neutralisé', which is to be distinguished from the non-linguistic concept of 'bon usage' as well as from that of 'français régional', and which is made up of :

> "une très grande partie des traits qu'on trouve dans le français central; il comprendrait aussi des traits non communs, ceux qui sont utilisés par le plus grand nombre des locuteurs, c'est-à-dire encore, presque toujours, des traits du français central" (1973 : 107).

Moreover, this "français neutralisé" would be :

> "constitué de tous les traits communs aux divers dialectes du français" and "dont le dialecte central, couramment décrit par les linguistes français,

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constitue le fondement" (109).

The features which would perhaps best fit into this description of the speech of many of these cultivated speakers in the Brussels context would be a certain archaism in the distinction of certain phonemes (e.g. the maintenance of the $\tilde{\varepsilon}/\tilde{\text{œ}}$ distinction in 'brin'/'brun'), a slower rate of delivery, and a certain lengthening of vowels (POHL : 1950 : 1,73) (Note 4).

More interesting for the study of Brussels, however, are those specific features which enable one to distinguish a 'français régional' and which help to :

> "faire apparaître le français pratiqué dans la région comme une variété entièrement différente du français du 'bon usage'." (WARNANT : 113).

Here we will be dealing with elements that arise out of the contact situation, features introduced into French by the presence of Flemish, either in its dialect form or in its standardised southern Dutch form. This situation results in the introduction of stress and intonation features of Flemish as well as characteristic deviations in the articulation of vowels and consonants, in part caused by the stress pattern.

The overall picture is one of 'centralisation' of the vowel system, tending towards the position of schwa, particularly in unstressed postion. This leads to a collapse of the distinction between /e/ and /ɛ/, as in 'téléphone' [ˈtɛlə,fɔn] Note how the blurring is determined by pronounced strong stress typical of Flemish. This process of centralisation can even go so far as to coincide with the schwa, as in 'culotte'[kəˈlɔt].

Schematically this tendency may be represented as follows :

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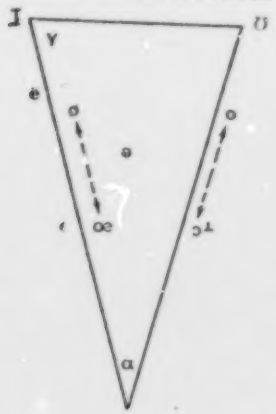
Vowels in Brussels French



Centralising tendencies of non-accentuated vowels

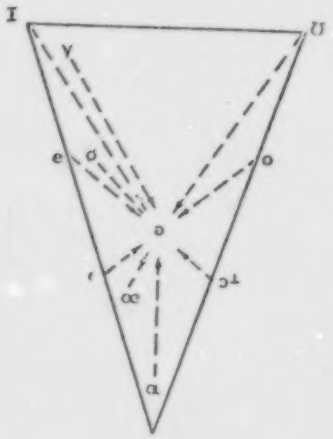


TABLE 2

(Baetens Beardsmore : 1971a ; 77)

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Coupled with this centralising tendency is a tendency to diphthongisation of vowels, particularly under the effects of strong stress, which is more accentuated in Brussels than elsewhere, differentiating stressed from unstressed syllables more markedly. Not only are stressed syllables more noticeably differentiated, but increased intensity of the stress can also lead to diphthongisation, particularly in final open syllables. The /e/ phoneme is the most characteristic to undergo this process, as with 'publicité' [pyblɪsɘ'tɛᶦ] 'chercher'[ʃɛr'ʃɛᶦ] Other vowels to exhibit similar tendencies are /i/>/ɪᶦ/, e.g. 'Paris'[parɪᶦ]; /o/>/oʷ/; 'beau' [boʷ]; /œ/>/œᶦ/, 'jeu'[ʒœᶦ]; /ɛ/>/ɛᶦ/, 'craie' [krɛᶦ].

Accentuated strong stress also causes the loss of certain vowels, as with words like 'serrure' [sryr] ; 'procureur' [prɔkrœr].

The consonant system comes equally strongly under the influence of the contact Germanic language, noticeably in the general tendency to replace voiced consonants, particularly in final position, by their unvoiced counterpart. This leads to 'réserve' : [resɛrf]; 'viande' [fjãt] ; 'linge' [lɛ̃ʃ]; etc. (Note that in generative phonology this devoicing of final consonant is considered a natural rule; SCHANE : 1972 : 210). Even in internal position there is a characteristic change in quality, which WIND, Nederlandse-Franse Taalcontacten, (1960 : 2) attributes to assimilation by inertia, that is where the second consonant is assimilated to the first (e.g. 'échevin'[eʃʃɛ̃], instead of the more usual process in French of assimilation by anticipation, 'médecin' [metsɛ̃]. (Note 5).

Not only do we come across cases of redistribution in the phonological system of Brussels French, as quoted above, but also the introduction of allophones foreign to standard French but familiar to the Dutch phonological system. This is particularly noticeable with 'r' sounds, which may be trilled, uvular or a uvular trill with pronounced friction as described by GROOTAERS, Het Nederlands substraat van het Brussels-Frans klanksysteem, (1953: 40). Similarly, t

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'l' sound has two allophones, 'clear' [l], as in standard French and a 'dark', or velarised [ɬ], often come across after a back vowel - 'local' [lɔkaɬ]. The third most characteristic consonant allophone is the Dutch variety of 'g' [ɣ], which can be met with at the same time as /g/, 'organisé' [ɔrɣa nizɛ] ; 'magasin' [maɣazɛ̃]. However, this velar fricative may often only be met with sporadically.

The above features are only a few of the more characteristic ones that exist in Brussels French. Others, particularly those connected with consonant clusters, with assimilation, dissimilation, or liaison, are not of a nature to differ very much from features typical to popular French elsewhere, including those commented on by MARTINET, in La prononciation du français contemporain, (1945). However, one feature more specific to popular Brussels French, is the splitting of a consonant cluster, when an intercalary /ə/ is introduced to separate two final consonants, particularly cons + /l/ , /r/ + cons rendering 'article' [artikəl], 'ferme' [fɛrəm]. This feature can be directly attributed to Flemish influence, where words like melk 'milk' are rendered as [mɛlək]. Moreover, such renderings in French tend to be heard only in the mouths of bilinguals speaking strongly under the influence of their Flemish dialect, as is the case with most of the consonant varieties mentioned above, whereas the comments illustrating some of the vowel sounds are more likely to be heard from other categories of speakers.

Although very little investigation has gone on into the supra-segmental features of Brussels French, apart from an outline in BAETENS BEARDSMORE, (1973 a : 99-108) and odd references here and there in other works on the language of the area, it would not be without interest to see to what extent Flemish intonation patterns influence Brussels French. We have already seen how vowel quality can be affected under the effects of strong-stress. Both the shift in position and intensity of the strong stress as well as the diphthongisation bring about the noticeable change in the melodic curve of a Brussels French

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sentence, but there are other noticeable intonation features not so easy to explain. One of these is a tendency to accentuate the verb, and particularly the auxiliary verb, so as to produce a melodic curve completely alien to standard French. In certain cases there is an apparent overlap with the translated Flemish equivalent, as when 'dire' is stressed in a sentence like :

"Mais il faut pas dire ça!" (Maar gij mogt dat niet zeggen),

but in other cases, as with

"Nous sommes donc arrivés là"

this does not appear to take place. Only a detailed investigation of the stress and intonation patterns of the two languages involved would enable one to find out to what extent the French melodic curve is influenced by Flemish and whether such intonation marks follow any regular pattern, or are merely sporadic.

As far as investigation of the influence of French on the Flemish of Brussels is concerned, very little work has been accomplished. VAN LOEY, Les Problèmes du Bilinguisme en Belgique, (1958 : 299) makes the claim that,

"à l'inverse de ce qui s'observe dans le français de Belgique, la syntaxe et la base d'articulation des patois flamands sont restés intacts".

Although this affirmation may well have some general validity it seems somewhat difficult to believe that the massive and prolonged contact with French in Brussels has, by some mysterious process, failed to leave any traces in the Flemish of the capital. One is led to wonder whether the use of a characteristic uvular trill in Brussels Flemish, very different from the trilled 'r' of the Flemish dialects surrounding the capital, has not arisen due to contact with French. A similar question might be asked about the use of /y/ instead of Dutch /ʌ/ in words like 'bus' [bys],'kus' [kys], although in a paper entitled Bruxelles et sa région au point de vue linguistique, 1934, VAN LOEY clearly relates /y/ of Brussels Flemish to its western Germanic origins, with 'au' giving /y/, as in /lyp ə/=lopen

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(cf. p. 5). However, the /y/ of 'lopen' is not the same as the /ʉ/ of 'buis'.

The only detailed description of Flemish in Brussels is by MAZEREEL, Klank en Vormleer van het Brusselsch Dialect, (1931) and this work is singularly lacking in references to possible French features in the Flemish dialect described.

On the morphological plane it would seem that both languages have resisted infiltration from the contact language fairly well. French has, nevertheless, accepted the Flemish diminutive suffixes -tje, -je, -ke, as a fairly free productive morpheme whose frequency is determined by sociocultural factors, although proper names, e.g. Fintje (petite Joséphine), Louiske (petite Louise), may be come across at all levels of speaker. 'Chouke' (mon chou, ma chérie) or 'mademoiselleke' tend to belong to speech of the lower level social group.

Certain literary authors exploiting Brussels French give examples of verbs to which the Flemish prefix 'ver-' has been added, as with 'verexpliquer' D'OSTA, (Les Carnets de Jef Kazak : 18), though it has been difficult to verify whether this form is used in speech - (the local Flemish dialect does have 'verexpliceren' so the form is not to be totally dismissed as improbable in French).

However, it is at the syntactic level that the most noticeable interference features have been documented, frequently in the numerous cacologies (e.g. HANSE et al., Chasse aux Belgicismes, 1971) produced by well-intentioned but sometimes misguided puristes. Leaving this aside, there is considerable reliable documentation, the most noteworthy being POHL's doctoral thesis, and his more condensed work published in 1962. The titles of these two works hide their encyclopaedic nature, since they go far beyond the morphology, syntax and semantics of the verb category they claim to describe; they also provide useful information for cross-comparison with the French of other regions of Belgium and [illegible] The tendency to classify certain features as archaisms,

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regionalisms or as spontaneous developments within the French language, rather than as Flemish interference features, is not always convincing. This is illustrated in Flandricismes et phrase française spontanée (1959), where POHL gives illustrations of 'phrases disloquées' of the type about-sujet-verbe (ça je connais) existing in Belgium, Brittany, the Midi, Algeria and Haiti, inferring that such constructions are not necessarily Flandricisms in Belgium. Although such a standpoint is an interesting one it would seem to be contradicted by the considerable evidence of other writers on Belgian French.

Very convincing evidence as to the Flemish origin of such constructions is presented in the unpublished undergraduate dissertation produced for the University of Louvain by VEKEMANS, De invloed van de Brussels-Vlaamse volkstaal op de Brussels-Franse volkstaal (1963). This work concentrates on the spoken language and reveals in a clear and incontestable manner how many (though not all) of the major syntactic pecularities of Brussels French arise out of the contact situation. Many of Vekeman's analyses have been taken up in the more accessible Le français régional de Bruxelles, by BAETENS BEARDSMORE (1971). Both of these studies note particularly how the French preposition system becomes modified in accordance with the local Flemish usage; "les mouettes sont venues manger sur notre main", "il apprend pour être ouvrier", "vos enfants sont dans de bonnes mains", "vous discutez toujours contre les pauvres et contre les riches vous ne dites rien", all reflecting the local usage of 'op',' voor', 'in', 'tegen'. Even more striking are the examples where prepositions function in the same way as separable verbal particles in a manner completely alien to standard French, but in exact agreement with Brussels Flemish, giving "maintenant elle a plus personne pour parler flamand avec" (meespreken), "va chercher la bouteille dehors" (i.e. va trouver la bouteille dans la cave - uithalen), "tu dois tout payer en bas" (i.e. rembourser - afbetalen), "mettez cinq francs tout près" (i.e. ajoutez cinq francs -bijleggen), etc.

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It can be seen from these few examples how the verb system is affected, with the replacement of standard French verbs by new compound forms and a rearrangement of word order. The use of the auxiliaries 'avoir' and 'être' is completely reorganised to coincide with the dialectal use of the Flemish auxiliaries 'hebben' and 'zijn', producing "j'ai resté là", "nous avons sorti", "j'ai tombé malade", "je m'ai toujours rappelé", and other verbs are used as auxiliaries, like 'rester', e.g. "je ne peux pas rester déménager (continuer à déménager)". Tense use is sometimes collapsed so that blurring can ensue between present and future (as in the French of France, though the nature of its incidence in Brussels would seem to indicate interference origins) and between present and past tense forms.

In Brussels, as with popular French in France, the subjunctive mood undergoes considerable simplification, even disappearing completely as a distinct form in the speech of people strongly influenced by Dutch or Flemish. Although arguments could be put forward that this disappearance of the subjunctive forms is a development internal to French it is highly probable that the tendency is reinforced by the presence of the Dutch modal usage with particular categories of speaker. A similar case can be put for explaining the use of the conditional after 'si' ("s'il n'y aurait pas d'ennuis à cause du flamand, on aurait tous t.v."), another feature to be found in the popular French of France.

It would be vain to try and give even an overview of all the syntactic peculiarities of Brussels French due to contact with Flemish; the confusion between adjectives and nouns (je suis une embêtante), the confusion between 'tu/vous' in the personal pronouns, the very typical use of demonstrative 'ça' (ça n'est pas petit; ça sont des remises), the position of adverbe (t'es beau assez), the use of adverbs as chevilles (laissez la porte seulement ouverte, va seulement faire ça). Detailed information about these, and many more characteristics, can be gathered from the major sources quoted above.

An interesting field of investigation in the Brussels contact situation,

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where further light can be shed on the borrowing processes between languages in general, is that of the gender attributed to loanwords. In A Gender Problem in a Language Contact Situation (1971), BAETENS BEARDSMORE investigates the distribution of gender patterns among loanwords in Brussels French, arriving at conclusions which would appear to modify WEINREICH's claim (Languages in Contact, 1968 : 46) that choice of gender does not depend on the structures of the languages in contact, but rather on individual psychological and socio-cultural factors prevailing in the contact situation. Although WEINREICH is partly right in that the attribution of gender is determined by the general level of acculturation and the socio-cultural background of the speaker, it also seems clear that these factors in turn determine whether it is the source language or the receiving language which is of primary importance in determining gender.

Table 3 represents these tendencies diagrammatically.

Lexis

It has been said (BRUN, Les parlers régionaux, 1946 : 138) that regional language best manifests its originality through its vocabulary, and this may well be true in many cases. However, it would be unwise to accept this observation without reflection, since although the non-linguist might be struck by the frequency of lexical items that appear specific to a region, this frequency might well hide their limited range. It is felt that this is possibly the case with Brussels French (though not with Brussels Flemish), where a relatively small number of regional lexical items appear with great frequency. The above observations might be called into question if one perchance comes across certain dictionaries or vocabulary lists claiming to reflect the lexical richness of Brussels French, or if one reads some of the literature purporting to reflect the regional language. But unfortunately, drawing up 'picturesque' vocabulary lists, and giving free rein to the imagination in literary creation, although popular activities, can lead to regrettable distortions

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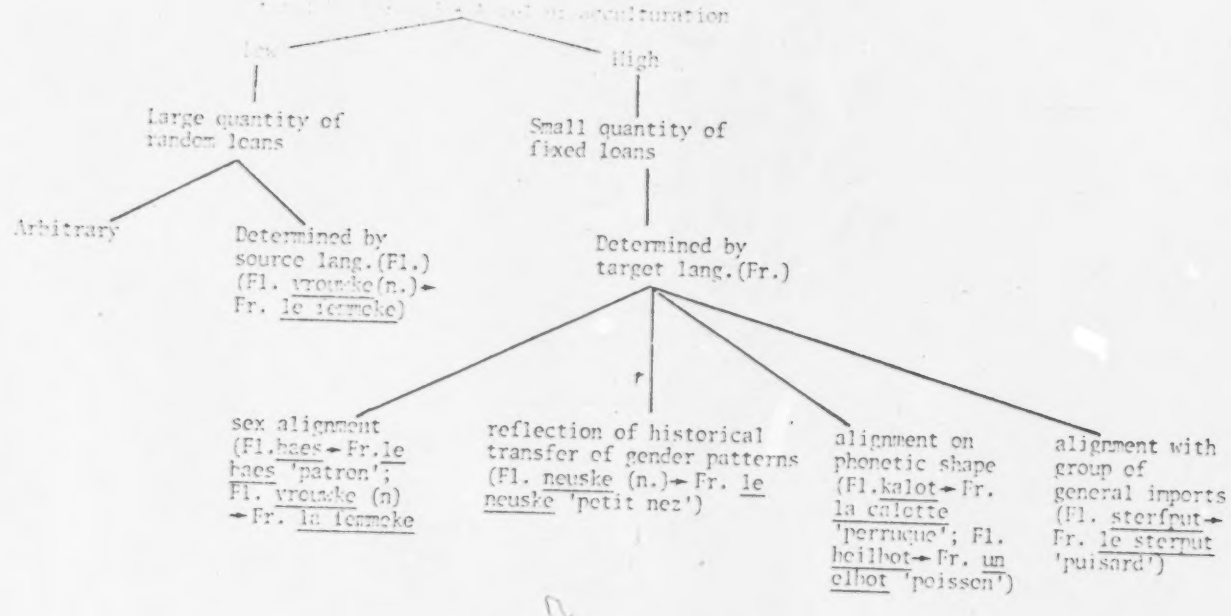
Low
High
Large quantity of random loans
Small quantity of fixed loans
Arbitrary
Determined by source lang.(Fl.) (Fl. vrouwke(n.)→ Fr. le ierreke)
Determined by target lang.(Fr.)
sex alignment (Fl.baes→Fr.le baes 'patron'; Fl. vrouwke (n) →Fr. la ierreke
reflection of historical transfer of gender patterns (Fl. neuske (n.)→Fr. le neuske 'petit nez')
alignment on phonetic shape (Fl.kalot→Fr. la calotte 'perruque'; Fl. heilbot→Fr. un elbot 'poisson')
alignment with group of general imports (Fl. storfput→ Fr. le sterput 'puisard')

Fl. = Flemish, Fr. = French, n. = neuter

Table 3

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as well as add fuel to the fire of folklinguistics alluded to earlier.

Caution should also be exercised in the consultation of vocabulary lists, so as to determine what they are supposed to reflect and at what period in the evolution of the regional language they were established. For example, a descriptive work appearing in 1926 by HENNING, Die französische Sprache im Munde der Belgier und die Marollenmundart Brüssels, although extremely useful for the origin of certain terms, does not indicate how, when and where many of them are used, or to what extent they are archaic or living. Confusion about the notion of the 'Marolles' (cf. above) does not help in the consultation of such word lists, altough HENNIG himself was circumspect enough to question the continued existence of a speech form specific to a limited area of Brussels.

In 1937 a Dutch scholar, WIND, in Contributions néerlandaises au vocabulaire du français belge produced a further list of lexical items peculiar to Brussels French, and a comparison of this list with earlier ones (e.g. COUROUBLE, Notre langue, 1900 ; DE KELPER, Le français de Bruxelles, 1910) reveals a certain evolution towards greater conformity with 'français neutralisé'. A comparison with even more recent lists, (e.g. VAN HOOF, La Langue française en Belgique : 1959) will, however, reveal a remarkable stability in the lexical items considered typical of Brussels (and to some extent, Belgian French). Analysis reveals that many of these terms are reflections of different historical, socio-economic and political institutions, or else are the type of archaism that might be come across in any provincial city of France (aubette, endéans, perdurer). Other pecularities fall into the domain of specialised sub-culture languages (cf. POHL, Les sobriquets scolaires en Belgique : 1946) and are only incidentally connected with the languages-in-contact situation.

Obviously the contact situation has produced some interesting lexical features, though a definitive list of those terms which form part and parcel of everyday French speech

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is almost impossible to draw up, given the ever-shifting socio-linguistic scene in such a populous capital. The difficulty in drawing up such a list arises from the problem of defining one's field of investigation (a problem to be met with in any contact situation). Should any term be included that is borrowed from the contact situation, be it only a once and for all borrowing ? Should those terms that may be understood by the monoglot population, though hardly ever, or never, used, be included ? Should every term to be found in printed matter from the region be listed, or only those that can be guaranteed as forming a constant part of the active vocabulary of the majority of speakers ? All these standpoints have been used by different authors, even if not explicitly; this lack of definition makes consultation of dictionaries like QUIEVREUX's Dictionnaire du dialecte bruxellois, (1965), an extremely hazardous undertaking. As has been pointed out by BAETENS BEARDSMORE, in Quelques considérations sur le "Dictionnaire du dialecte bruxellois" de M. Louis Quievreux, (1967), unless one is already well acquainted with Brussels, there is no way of knowing to which of the two major languages any of the entries refer. Moreover this dictionary gives an extraordinarily large number of Spanish etymologies, even though this goes counter to the clear argumentation put forward by HERBILLON, in Elements espagnols en wallon et dans le français des anciens Pays-Bas (1961). Ironically enough, and in spite of its French title, QUIEVREUX's dictionary does provide a lot of information about the peculiarities of the local Flemish dialect, though it could in no way be considered a work of scientific value. Its merit lies more in its usefulness as a starting point for further investigation than as a tool for serious linguistic study.

For the more reliable sources one should turn to the series of articles written by GRAULS, between 1932 and 1936, the first of which is Een uitstapje naar het Walenland, (1932), and where word migrations between French, Flemish and Wallon are carefully traced and commented upon, as for example the adjective 'fla' or 'flawe' used in Brussels with the meaning 'mou, languissant, fade', present in Wallon in 'des flawes djambes' and

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in Flemish as'flauwe beene' (p. 275). Further information of this nature can be found in the same author's Quelques emprunts entre patois flamands et wallons, (1924), where, for example, the etymology of the Brussels French 'escramouilles' is clearly traced back to the French 'escarbilles' via the Flemish 'schrabhoelie' or 'schramulle' [sχraмlə] , with the Wallon equivalent 'scrabies' (p. 53). The most exhaustive compilation of lexical peculiarities is in POHL's doctoral thesis (1950), where every term come across, in the specialised or popular literature, is annotated and (where possible) commented upon. Unfortunately, it is not always clear whether all the terms listed are actually used by the indigenous population, or merely known to some sections of it, but cross-reference with BAETENS BEARDSMORE, (1971a), should clarify this point. Consultation of these two works reveals that specific semantic areas are fairly well endowed with regionalisms, particularly those connected with food and drink (spek 'lard', stoump 'pommes de terre en purée mélangées avec des légumes', choesels 'pancréas de boeuf cuit au vin', spiringue 'côtelette de porc de moindre qualité', gozette 'chausson aux pommes', pistolet 'petit pain', chnick 'genièvre', etc....). Many of these terms refer to things specific to the region and would, therefore, find their parallels in any dialect dictionary, just as would so many of the entries connected with home-life, pastimes and the more intimate relationships between people.

So far, indications have been given about archaisms (particularly noted in POHL, 1950) and regionalisms, but some of the examples quoted in the preceding paragraph also exemplify straight borrowing from Flemish. It is not without interest to examine some of the lexical peculiarities within the framework of HAUGEN's classification in Bilingualism in the Americas : A Bibliographical and Research Guide, (1956) . Words like spek 'lard', Zuur 'bonbon acidulé', stoump, kot 'chambre d' étudiant', are straight borrowings from the local Flemish, without phonemic substitution, the usage of which is justified (except perhaps for the case of spek) by the absence of a precise diamorphic

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equivalent in French.

Cases of phonemic importation are manifested in terms like scholl [sχɔɬ] 'carrelet, plie', and even morphemic importation in boentje 'béguin', menneke 'gamin', wagueler 'chanceler, vaciller', thereby introducing new morphemes into the language "with a phonemic shape which shows diaphonic identification with a morpheme in the source language" (HAUGEN : 1956 : 52). However, terms like scholl, if used by the monoglot French speaker, or more linguistically acclimatised bilingual, will reveal phonemic and morphemic substitution, giving [skɔl], gueuze 'sorte de bière' [gœ:z] rather than [ʒœ:s]. Hence, the more sophisticated speaker prefers the loanblend in cases where the straightforward loan-word would cause a phonemic importation. More frequently with this category of speaker one would come across loanshifts where there is complete morphemic substitution, as with the case of escramouilles<schramulle, bac à ordures<vuilbak.

In conclusion, it should perhaps be stressed that the amount of lexical borrowing in Brussels French is not as great as one might expect if one looks at the majority of French speakers in the city, but that the further one moves up the scale of bilinguality the more open-ended the range becomes. This leads [illegible] into the Flemish dialect and the amount of French borrowing [illegible] Flemish, where one is confronted by an enormous number of [illegible] reports. Unfortunately, no scientific study has been conducted [illegible] French influence in Brussels Flemish in the way that VAN [illegible]BORNE did in De Franse woorden in het dialect Van Wingene, [illegible], although many of the terms listed for this village from the province of West Flanders, are also present in Brussels [illegible], suggesting that there is a common store of French [illegible] in many of the Flemish dialects of Belgium.

The striking feature about Brussels Flemish is that [illegible] any French word can be borrowed (except perhaps the [illegible]) and that in many cases their origin is more or less [illegible]ent. VAN LOEY in Les mots français en néerlandais, [illegible] how borrowings from French have a different

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morphological development in the Dutch of Belgium as opposed to the Dutch of the Netherlands, the Dutch using catalogiseren, discussiëren where the Flemings prefer catalogeren, discuteren, thereby staying closer to the French original.

Unfortunately no study of lexical borrowing in the Flemish dialect of Brussels has appeared, a rather sorry state of affairs when one realises that this dialect form is likely to disappear, threatened as it is by the movement to raise dialect speakers to the level of standard southern Dutch users on the one hand and the creeping 'francisation' of lower level social groups on the other. It is to be hoped that the team of linguists from the Vrije Universiteit Brussel at present working in the field on Brussels Flemish will soon remedy this state of affairs by publishing its findings.

The Literary Language

Any description of multilingual contacts in Brussels would be incomplete if no mention were made of the literature that has arisen as a direct result of contact, and the language of this literary expression. Very few studies have appeared on this subject (BAETENS BEARDSMORE : 1967: 1969; WILMART : 1968) although it is a field well worth investigating, not so much from the standpoint of literary criticism as from that of linguistic analysis.

An investigation of the use of one or the other of the two languages present should throw light on the relationships between the two languages across the ages, the nature and development of interference features in literary expression, the extent of interference in literary production in the work of Flemish authors and French authors respectively, providing some insights into the development of the two languages across time. Such an investigation should be paired with a comparison of the linguistic features condemned by authors in the numerous cacologies that have appeared in the area from the sixteenth century onwards, from L.EURIER's Colloques ou Nouvelle invention de Propos Familiers (1557), to HANSE et al.'s Chasse aux belgicismes (1971).

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The same care would have to be exercised in such an undertaking as with some of the other fields of investigation mentioned earlier, since the excesses of imagination on the part of many authors claiming to exploit the regional peculiarities of the Brussels language scene have led to many strange phenomena. (An extreme example is the language used by J. CASTELYN in Ville de Bruxelles, bizarreries belges : 1883, where the oddity of the French is so outrageous as to defy credibility.) With the necessary care and circumspection, however, the distance between the literary language and 'la réalité parlée' can be measured, both synchronically and diachronically, thereby completing the portrait of the Brussels linguistic scene most usefully. An incidental gain would also be some insight into the socio-cultural aspects of language contact across the ages.

Conclusions

The area of Brussels can be considered one of the richest possible terrains for linguistic enquiry into the effects of long-term multilingual contacts in an urban setting. The value of such investigation cannot be sufficiently stressed in a world where the change-over from a rural-based pattern of life to a city-dominated one has been among the foremost social developments of this century. Only recently has this shift been reflected in the field of language investigation, particularly in the work of English and American socio-linguists, with a trend away from rural dialectology to urban socio-linguistics.

An examination of the work done to date in Brussels reveals the lack of balance in the amount of scientific investigation carried out on the languages present as well as significant lacunae in the different areas of enquiry opened up by modern linguistics. The small amount of published work on the Flemish of the area is the most startling omission. Other fields of investigation are those of child linguistics and language attitudes, the conducting of linguistic censuses (perhaps based on some of the recommendations

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put forward in KELLY (ed.) The Description and Measurement of Bilinguali 1969 : 285-348), an examination into the effects of language contact on intonation patterns, the diachronic study of language development in contact situations, the development of the literary language, and many others.

If this paper has stressed the caution with which one should tread in the highly complex situation to be found in Brussels it has also emphasised the rich potentiality open to the linguist. A concerted effort on the part of research workers from many disciplines could bring this unexplored vein to the surface and benefit their colleagues for a long time to come.

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Notes

Note 1. Although the official term for the Germanic language spoken in Brussels and Northern Belgium is Dutch, I will follow established practice in publications not emanating from Dutch sources and use 'Flemish' to designate the Southern varieties of non-standard Dutch, and more specifically the dialects, using the term 'Dutch' to designate the standard language, be it the Belgian variety or that of the Netherlands. cf. The decision taken by the Cultural Council of the Dutch-speaking community (Nederlandse Kultuurraad) in its decree of 4 December 1973 to use only 'Dutch' to refer to the language in official documents, 'Flemish' being reserved for uses justified by historical, geographic or ethnological reasons.

Note 2. LEVY, P., La Statistique des langues en Belgique, 1938, takes a very close look at the history of the language question in the censuses from 1842 to World War II. On p. 567 he asserts : "Il est vain d'espérer jamais atteindre en matière de statistique des langues un degré de précision permettant de parler d'objectivité absolue".

Note 3. VAN LUL : 1968 : 162, gives the Flemish presence in Brussels at between 15 % and 45 % for 1965, the first figure being based on the number of requests for identity cards in Dutch, the second on the number of electors born in Flanders.

Note 4. In talking about the archaic nature of certain phonological (or other) features it should be noted that most of the archaisms are classified as such in relationship to developments in Parisian French rather than in terms of the internal development of the French of the area.

Note 5. An added explanation for this particular type of assimilation in a word like 'échevin' could be the position of the syllabic boundary, of the type V + CCV rather than VC + CV.

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